

sixteenth parts, however, show that in other parts of the empire there was one acknowledged standard weight for the *tankah*.

I do not intend this paper as an answer to the kind papers of Mr. Thomas and Mr. Keene. It is rather an apology for my former paper and its mistakes, and is intended as an additional contribution to our knowledge of Akbar's copper coinage. I do not know the date of the completion of the *Aín-i-Akbarí*, but in it a very incomplete account is given of Akbar's copper coinage. Our cabinets, however, provide us with coins of the whole reign from the 963 year coins of Nárnol to the 50th Iláhi year coins of Ágra. It remains for historians and revenue officers to discuss the matter in the light these new coins give.

I may add that the *Aín Akbarí* gives many subdivisions of the rupee of Akbar, and that as my cabinet contains specimens of each piece, I shall, if I can find time, give a plate of these subdivisions.

P. S. Since the above was in press I have visited Ágra, Muttra and Delhí and have obtained two Ágra *tankahs*; several *ním tankaks*, one of Ágra; two *chhárum hissa i tankahs*, and one Kábul *do tanke* piece. All these tend to confirm what I have advanced in this paper.

Some Coins of Ranjít Deo, king of Jummú a hundred years ago.—By
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(With a Plate.)

In the first year of the present century Ranjít Singh "the Lion of the Panjáb" conquered Lahore. For many years after that event, he was so constantly engaged in subduing the whole of the cities and states of the Panjáb that his name and fame seem to have hidden altogether the name of a better man who bore the name of Ranjít Deo and who ruled in the hill state of Jummú or Jummún as we shall see from coins.

Writing of Jummú, Mr. Frederick Drew in "The Northern Barrier of India"* says: "A century ago the old regime was flourishing under Rája Ranjít Deo; he is still spoken of with the highest respect as a wise administrator, a just judge, and a tolerant man. At that time the direct rule of the Jummú Rája hardly extended so much as twenty miles from the city; but he was lord of a number of feudatory chiefs, of such places as Akhnúr, Dalpatpúr, Kiramchí and Jasrotá, all in the outer Hill tract, chiefs who governed their own subjects, but paid tribute to and did military service for, their liege lord of Jummú.

* Chapter III, pp. 40, 41.

“During a portion of the year they would be present at that city, attending the court of the ruler and holding separate ones themselves. At this day various spots in the town are remembered where each of these tributaries held its court on a minor scale. Doubtless there was some petty warfare, resulting sometimes in an extension and sometimes in a contraction of the power of the central ruler; but usually the chiefs were more occupied in sport than in serious fighting, and, in fact, the various families had continued in nearly the same relative positions for great lengths of time.”

“From the time of Ranjít Deo’s death the fortunes of Jummú became more dependent than before on the world outside the rugged hills, the result being a change in, and at length almost a complete break-up of, the old system of government.”

Mr. Drew does not tell us when Ranjít Deo ascended the throne or when he died. He adds in a foot note “Ranjít Singh was of the Jaṭ caste, and was in no way connected with Ranjít Deo or with any of the Dogra tribe.” We learn, however, from the “History of the Panjab,”* Vol. I, p. 219, that in 1762 A. D. Ahmad Sháh Durrání after almost annihilating the Sikhs in an engagement near Ludhiana, a disaster “characterized in Sikh tradition as the *ghulu ghara* or bloody carnage,” “his attention was turned towards Kashmír where his governor Súkh Jewan had for nine years conducted the administration without remitting any portion of the revenues to the royal treasury. The co-operation of Ranjít Deo, Rája of Jummú, having been secured, with some difficulty, a strong detachment was sent from Lahore, under the command of Núr-ud-Dín, and the Rája conducted it across the Pír Panjál mountains into the valley, which submitted after a slight resistance. Súkh Jewan being made a prisoner was punished with the loss of his eyes. Ahmad Sháh, having made these arrangements to secure his territory east of the Indus, returned to Kábul at the end of the year 1762 A. D.”

The same writer tells us on p. 237,—“The Hill Rája of Jummú Ranjít Deo, had a misunderstanding with his eldest son, Brij Ráj, and desired to set aside his pretensions to the succession in favour of the youngest, Mían Dulel Singh. In order to secure his hereditary rights, Brij Ráj broke into rebellion, and applied to Charat Singh,† offering a large yearly tribute, on condition of his aiding to depose his father. Charat Singh having an old enmity against Ranjít Deo, closed with the offer, and strengthening himself by association with Jai Singh of the Ghanía Misl, their united forces marched into the hills, and encamped at

* London, Wm. H. Allen and Co., 1846.

† The father of Máhá Singh and grandfather of Ranjít Singh.

Udhachar, on the banks of the Basantar river. The Rájá having timely notice of the designs of the heir-apparent, had made corresponding preparations for resistance. The defence of the capital he reserved to himself, but collected a force to oppose the invasion, composed of auxiliaries from Chamba, Núrpúr, Basehar, and Kángra, in the hills, to which were added, besides a party of his own troops, the confederated forces of the Bhangí Misl, under Jhandá Singh, whom he induced to lend his services in the extremity. The two armies lay encamped on opposite sides of the Basantar, and in a partial skirmish between the Sikh auxiliaries Charat Singh was killed by the bursting of his own matchlock.

He was 45 years of age, and had risen from a common Dharwí or highway man, to be Sardár of a separate Misl, with a territory computed to yield about three lakhs of rupees. He left a widow, Desan by name, with two sons and a daughter, called respectively Máhá Singh, Subuj Singh and Ráj Kanwar. The eldest son, Máhá Singh, then ten years of age, succeeded to the Sardárí; but the widow and Jai Singh Ghanía assumed the immediate direction of affairs. It was determined by them to assassinate Jhandá Singh Bhangía, who was the mainstay of the Jummú Rájá's party, and the avowed enemy of both the Sukar Chakía and Ghanía Misls. A sweeper was tempted by a large bribe to undertake this hazardous enterprise, and he succeeded in effecting his purpose by firing at, and mortally wounding the Bhangí chief, as he was walking unattended through the Jummú camp. The Sukar Chakía and Ghanía Sikhs being satisfied with the revenge thus taken, withdrew soon after from the enterprise in which they had been engaged. The Bhangí troops had simultaneously left the opposite camp on the death of their chief. Thus Brij Ráj Deo was left alone to settle with his father, his rights of inheritance to the Ráj: before the departure of Máhá Singh, however, he went through the ceremony of an exchange of turbans with Brij Ráj, which bound him to brotherhood for life. These events occurred in 1774 A. D."

Rái Kanhiyá Lál, Bahádur, in his *Urdú History of the Panjáb, Lahore, 1877*, gives some further particulars (p. 119) of this matter. He says that in those days the city of Jummú was regarded as the abode of peace and safety, that bankers and merchants had fled from the Sikh-spoiled plains of the Panjáb and had taken refuge in Jummú where Ranjít Deo was too strong for the Sikhs to attempt anything against him. He gives the name of the battle as Dású-suhára in the government of Zafarwál. The sweeper, he says, was a Muzhabí khidmatgár. (The Mazhabís* are sweepers, but they have always been an honoured

* The word *mazhabí* means religious.

and trusted people since 1675 A. D., in which year some sweepers rescued the mutilated body of the Gúru Tegh Bahádur from the streets of Dehlí where it had been exposed by Aurangzeb. We have several regiments of Mazhabí Sikhs in our Indian army at the present day, and their deeds in arms show that "trust breeds trust.") He adds that Ranjít Deo gave Jai Singh 150,000 rupees for the assistance he had rendered. But here as in other places he gives us no clue as to when the event happened. There is a dispute as to whether this affair took place in 1771 or 1774. The latter date seems to be supported by the best authorities. The histories of Kashmír that I have consulted say nothing at all about Ranjít Deo.

Jummú figures little in history after this. In 1812 A. D., Ranjít Singh, although busy with his plans for obtaining the Koh-i-Núr diamond from the blind refugee Sháh Zamán, found time for making arrangements for the conquest of the hill states south of the Kashmír valley. Jummú was captured by his newly married son Kharrak Singh, says Cunningham in his *History of the Sikhs*. Kanhiyá Lál says* that Díwán Bhawání Dás took Jummú from the Pahári Dográ Deḍo in an expedition which lasted only one month. He also tells us† that Kasúr Singh the father of the three brothers who made such a figure in the court of Ranjít Singh,—Dhyán Singh, Guláb Singh and Suchet Singh—was a descendant of the Rájás of Jummú. In Macgregor's *History of the Sikhs*, Vol. I, p. 168,‡ we read "During this year (1812), Bhái Rám Singh, who was the Peshkár of Kharrak Singh, received Jummú in jagír." From these three somewhat different accounts we may learn that Jummú was conquered by the Lion of the Panjáb in 1812.

In the *Urdú Táríkh-i-Makhazan-i-Panjáb* by Gulám Sarwar published by Nawwal Kishore we have without dates a genealogical table which is interesting although I cannot vouch for its correctness, and which is given at the end of this paper.

The author tells us that in the time of Brij Ráj Deo matters were in the greatest confusion in Jummú. He does not tell us whether he had any family or not. The Dográ Rája Deḍo mentioned by Kanhiyá Lál may be his son. I regret that I can give no dates and so little information about Ranjít Deo. I think, however, that I have shown who he was and the position that he held in the Panjáb at a time when its history is little known. The time in which he lived was one of utter lawlessness, yet his little state was the abode of peace and safety (دارالامان). The Afghán Ahmad Sháh had overrun the Panjáb.

* *Urdú History of the Panjáb*, p. 209.

† *Ibid.*, p. 259.

‡ London, James Madden 1846.

The Sikh Misl, twelve in number, were then rising into power, and as each one rose, it strove to overpower all the others. In Dehlí, a blind king was on the throne, and his servants misruled the country on their own account, and murdered each other according to their own sweet wills. Nevertheless during all this misrule, the coins of the empire were struck in the name of that blind king Sháh Álam II. I have rupees of every year of his struck in Dehlí and other places, and he reigned 49 years. Some time ago I obtained a rupee of his 24th year. The inscriptions on it are (see plate I, fig. 1.)

Obv. ۱۱۹۶ شاه عالم بادشاه غازی سکه
Rev. ضرب دارالامان جموں سنه جلوس میمذت مانوس ۲۴

This coin I attribute to Ranjít Deo. It was struck as we see at Jummoo in the name of Sháh Álam. The year is that of the Hejirah, and the year of the reign corresponds. Sháh Álam's rupee of the 1st year is dated 1174. But he may be said to have commenced his reign in 1172. The Dehlí rupee I have of his 23rd year is dated 1195 A. H. This Jummoo rupee of the 24th year is dated 1196 A. H. The 26th year is 1197, the 27th 1199, and the 28th 1200. So that this Jummoo rupee takes its place in quite a correct manner in the list.

It will be noticed how the title of the city "*Dár-ul-Amán*" the "*Gate of safety*" agrees with the description of its condition under Ranjít Deo as given above by Rai Kanhíyá Lál.

Whether Ranjít Deo acknowledged the sovereignty of Dehlí or not, I cannot say. His rupee has on it the name of the nominal suzerain of India, a name found on all the coins of the East India Company and on coins struck at Muhammadábád (Benares), Indarpúr, Mustaqir-ul-Khiláfat Ágra, Ahmadnagar Farrukhábád, Murádábád, Dehlí, Muhammadnagar, Dár-ul-Barakát, Dár us Sarúr Saháranpúr, Najíbábád, Barellí, Lutfábád Barellí, Tíraṭh Hurdwár, Muzaffargarh, Arcot, Maheswar (= Maisore). I have not yet found a coin of Sháh Álam II struck in Lahore or in any mint of the Panjáb proper. As I showed in my paper on "*The Coins of the Sikhs*," the Sikh Commonwealth commenced striking rupees in A. D. 1765, a practice which they continued with few interruptions under their many rulers up to A. D. 1849, in Lahore, Amritsar, Multán, Pesháwar, Kashmír, &c.

However shortly after this in the 27th year of Sháh Álam II, we find Ranjít Deo striking coins at Jummú in his own name, on which he uses the Sambat year, but strange to say, still retains the year of the reign of Sháh Álam, and on which he places the symbol of imperial power—the umbrella—so frequently occurring on the coins of that suzerain.

See Plate I, fig. 2.

Obv. I can't decipher this

رنجیت دیو آباد کورد (ن not present).

سہیت ۱۸۴۱

Rev.

ضرب دارالامان جہون سنہ ۲۷

جلوس میدنت مانوس

fig. 3.

Obv. Same as fig. 2, but with addition of حار below رنجیت which word is in full.

Rev. Same as No. 2, but year ۴۸

fig. 4. *Obv.* and *Rev.* same as fig. 3 with variations.

1196 A. H. corresponds with 1781 A. D., and is on the coin the 24th year of Sháh Álam. The Samvat year 1841 corresponds with 1784 A. D., and is on the coins the 27th and 28th years of Sháh Álam. These coins therefore were struck about 10 years after the disagreement Ranjít Deo had with his son. They are the only coins of Ranjít Deo I have yet met with during many years of continuous search. They show us what valuable aid coins may give us in unravelling and illustrating history.

Of the title of the city of Jammú found on the coins, دارالامان Dár ul-Amán, we may incidentally remark that the same title is found on some of Humáyun's anonymous coins struck at *A'gra*. It was also the title given to *Multán* more because of the rhyme than the reason. We find it on the rupees of Aurangzeb and his successors, and also on the coins of the Sikhs struck at Multán. The strong fort of this place may, however, often have afforded shelter to the people of the western Panjáb where it was the only stronghold of any size or importance.

The numbers under the coins indicate their weight in grains. Five rupees struck at five different Indian mints of Sháh Álam average I find 171.3 grs. So that the Jummú rupees had nothing to do with the old silver coinage of Kashmír but were coins of the Empire, over which Sháh Álam exercised nominal sovereignty.

Since writing the above I have had lent me "A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore with some account of the Jummoo Rajáhs" by Major G. Carmichael Smyth, Calcutta, W. Thacker and Co., 1847, a book published by subscription and now very rare. The author supplies what no one of the authorities I quote from gave me the *dates*. Ranjít Deo was born in 1724 A. D. He ascended the throne in 1742 and reigned "in peace and prosperity till 1780 A. D. when he died."

The only matter not noticed by the authorities I have used, but described by Major Smyth is that Ranjít Deo was imprisoned by the governor of Lahore from 1749 to 1760 A. D., when he escaped on a horse no one could tame except himself. After visiting his mountain home, however, he returned to Lahore and to captivity, but the governor was so much struck with this noble conduct he allowed him to return to Jummú.

P. S.—I have just obtained some more specimens of the coins of Ranjít Deo. From a comparison of five I am able to complete the deciphering of the inscription on the obverse. It is as follows:—

خانه رنجیت دیو آباد کرد
چھی نراین دل شاد کرد

which may be literally translated thus:—

Ranjít Deo peopled this part, Lachmí Naráin made glad its heart.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE (see p. 63).

